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PREFACE

122 THIS book contains some part of the results of anthropological research carried out in the Andaman Islands in the years 1906 to 1908, under the terms of the Anthony Wilkin Studentship in Ethnology of the University of Cambridge. The funds supplied by the studentship were supplemented by grants from the Royal Society and from the government of India. In its original form the monograph was presented as a fellowship thesis at Trinity College. The work of rewriting it was interrupted by absence from England and was only completed in 1914. There has since been a long delay in publication as a result of the war.

127 The book deals with the social institutions of the tribes of the Great Andaman. These had previously been studied by Mr E. H. Man to whose work I have been obliged to make many references in order that my account may be as complete as
114 possible. I should have preferred to devote my attention almost exclusively to the natives of the Little Andaman, about whom very little is known. I found, however, that it was not possible in the time at my disposal to do any satisfactory work amongst these people owing to the difficulty of language. The natives of
•[197] the Little Andaman know no language but their own, and that is so little related to the languages of the Great Andaman that even a thorough knowledge of the latter is of almost no use in an attempt to learn the former. I spent nearly three months camped with natives of the Little Andaman, giving most of the time to learning their language. No one who has not actually made the attempt to learn the language of a savage people without the help of an interpreter, can form an adequate idea of the difficulties of the task. At the end of three months I found that at the same rate of progress it would take me two or three years to learn to speak the language sufficiently well to begin to

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175 workers and on the friendly Andamanese. Punitive expeditions
648 have been sent against them on several occasions, and attempts to set up friendly relations with them have been made by leaving presents in their huts, and by capturing some of them and keeping them for a time at Port Blair. At the present time the *Jarawa* are as hostile as ever.

619 Although of one race throughout, the Andaman Islanders are divided into several groups, with differences of language and culture. There are two main divisions, which will be spoken of as the Great Andaman Group and the Little Andaman Group respectively. The Great Andaman Group includes all the natives of the Great Andaman with the exception of those of the interior of the South Andaman who are known as *Jarawa*. The Little Andaman Group includes all the inhabitants of the Little Andaman, those of the North Sentinel Island and the *Jarawa* of the South Andaman.

619 These two different divisions exhibit many differences of
•197 language and culture. All the languages of the Great Andaman Group are closely related to one another. They have the same grammatical structure, and a large number of roots are the same in all or in several of them. In the same way the language of the *Jarawa*, so far as it is known, is very similar to that of the natives of the Little Andaman. On the other hand when the language of the Little Andaman is compared with the Great Andaman languages there is a very striking difference. Of a vocabulary of several hundred words collected in the Little Andaman there were less than a dozen in which the root or stem was clearly the same as that of words in the Great Andaman. While the grammatical structure of the languages of the two groups is fundamentally the same, this can only be shown in a somewhat detailed analysis, and there are many important differences.

619 With regard to technical culture the same grouping appears. There is a general similarity between all the tribes of the Great Andaman Group, while the *Jarawa* and the inhabitants of the Little Andaman have a technical culture of their own that is markedly different from that of the other division.

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On the other hand [628] 621

there were often quarrels between neighbouring groups, which might result in a state of feud between them for many months. Between communities separated from one another by a distance of only 50 miles or even less there were no direct relations whatever. The members of one community kept to their own part of the country, only leaving it to visit their friends within a narrow radius.

These local groups were united into what are here called tribes. A tribe consisted of a number of local groups all speaking what the natives themselves regard as one language, each tribe having its own language and its name. The tribe was of very little importance in regulating the social life, and was merely a loose aggregate of independent local groups. 619 197.

The local groups are further distinguished by the natives themselves as being of two kinds according as they lived on the coast or inland. This division was independent of that into tribes. Some tribes consisted of coast-dwellers only, while others included both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers. 619 616

Within the local group the only division was that into families. A family consists of a man and his wife and their unmarried children own or adopted. 594

These were the only social divisions existing among the Andamanese, who were without any of those divisions known as "clans" which are characteristic of many primitive societies.

The natives of the Great Andaman (leaving aside the *Jarawa*, who by language and culture belong to the Little Andaman division of the race) are divided into ten tribes, each occupying a certain area of country. Each tribe consists of a number of persons who speak what is regarded by the natives themselves as one language. That the tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group is shown by the tribal names. These are all formed from a stem with the prefix *aka-*, which prefix is used in the languages of the Great Andaman to convey a reference to the mouth and thereby to the function of speech. Thus in the *Aka-Jeru* language the stem *poy* means "a hole of any kind," and *aka-poy* means "the mouth," there being no other word for that part of the body. In the same language the stem *-ar-* meaning "to talk" can only be used 619 197 196

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619 with the prefix *aka-*, as *ak'-ar-ka*, "he says." The prefix
197 which is characteristic of the tribal names, indicates, therefore,
196 that these are really the names of languages.

The meanings or derivations of some of the tribal names have not been ascertained with certainty. The name *Aka-Čari* is derived from the word *čari* meaning "salt water," and therefore means "the salt-water language." Similarly the name *Aka-Jeru* is derived from *jeru*, a species of Sterculia from which canoes are made. In the Northern languages the word *ot-bo* means "the back" of anything, and *oŋ-kọra* means "the hand." It is possible that the names *Aka-Bo* and *Aka-Kọra* are derived from these stems (the *ot-* and the *oŋ-* being prefixes), but there is no evidence that they are associated with them in the minds of the natives of the present day. Among the Southern tribes the name *Akar-Bale* is derived from a word meaning "the other side" of a creek or strait, thus referring to their position in the Archipelago. The name *A-Pučik-war* (of which the *Aka-Bea* equivalent is *Aka-Bojig-yab*) means "those who speak our own language," from a stem *pučik* (*Aka-Bea*, *bojig*) which means "belonging to ourselves" as opposed to strangers of the same race. Mr Portman[1] gives the following meanings of the other tribal names of the South and Middle Andaman, but the derivations are somewhat doubtful.

Aka-Bea	Fresh water.
Oko-Juwoi	They cut patterns on their bows.
Aka-Kol	Bitter or salt taste.

I may take this opportunity of pointing out two errors in the names of the tribes given in the "Census Report" of 1901. The name *Aka-Čari* is given as *Aka-Chariar*; the stem *-ar-* means "to talk" and is not an essential part of the tribal name; *Aka-Čari-ar-bom* means "he talks the *Čari* language." The name *Aka-Bo* is given as *Aka-Tabo*; *t'a-Bo* means "I (am) *Aka-Bo*," just as *t'a-Jeru* means "I (am) *Aka-Jeru*," the prefix *aka-* being contracted to *a-* after the personal pronoun *t'* = I or my.

619 Although the natives themselves thus recognize and give
197 names to ten distinct languages, all of them are closely related. There is, on the whole, not a great deal of difference between

[1] *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 27.

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two neighbouring languages. A man of the *Aka-Jeru* tribe could understand without any great difficulty a man speaking *Aka-Bo*. On the other hand many of the languages included two or even more distinct dialects. In the *Akar-Bale* tribe there were two dialects, one in the southern half of the Archipelago, which was allied to *Aka-Bea*, and the other in the northern half, showing affinities with *A-Pučikwar*. Even in such a small tribe as the *Aka-Čari* it would seem that there were differences of dialect. Thus, even from the point of view of language, the tribe was not entirely homogeneous.

Leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*, the average extent of territory occupied by a tribe was about 165 square miles. Of the nine tribes the largest, as regards area, was the *Aka-Kede*, with over 300 square miles, while the smallest was probably the *Aka-Čari*, with less than 100 square miles. Save in the case of the *Akar-Bale* tribe, which occupied the islands of Ritchie's Archipelago, it is difficult to find any marked geographical features that might be supposed to have determined the extent and the boundaries of the different tribes.

The *Aka-Bea* tribe was in an abnormal position as there was no recognized boundary between them and the *Jarawa*. Together, these two divisions of the Andamanese occupied an area of about 600 square miles. The *Aka-Bea* seem to have kept more to the coast while the *Jarawa* occupied the interior of the South Andaman and Rutland Island.

If the estimate previously given[1] of the former population of the islands be correct, the nine tribes (leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*) would have formerly contained about 3750 persons of all ages. At the present time the four tribes of the North Andaman number altogether about 400, of whom about 100 or less are children. The other six tribes taken together (including the almost extinct *Aka-Bea*) number about 200, of whom not more than 30 are children. Mr Man estimated the numbers of the *Aka-Bea* tribe (called by him *Bojig-yiji-da*) in 1882 at about 400, and supposes them to have numbered about 1000 in 1858. In 1901 that tribe consisted of only 37 persons.

[1] Page 18 above.

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remote origin, which are found in and near the harbour of Port Blair.

No one who has had the opportunity of seeing the natives of the various islands forming Great Andaman can fail to be struck with the similarity which marks their general appearance,[1] and to be convinced that, however much they may differ in many respects, they must at least claim a common origin. Any reasonable doubt on the subject has been removed by the discovery that although each of the several tribes possesses a distinct dialect, these are traceable to the same source, and are all in the same—*i.e.*, the agglutinative—stage of development; further, it has been ascertained that among all, or at least among the natives of Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago, a coincidence of legends and customs is to be found, and that though the points of dissimilarity between the inhabitants of Great and Little Andaman are more marked, especially in regard to their weapons and implements, they are by no means such as would justify the belief that the latter are descendants of another branch of the Negrito family.

From what has been already said it will be understood that we are not yet in a position to decide whether one and the same dialect is spoken by all the communities designated as *jārawa-*, or whether, like the people of North and Middle Andaman, they must be regarded on linguistic grounds as representing two or more tribes.

The dialects of Great Andaman may be grouped into three classes, viz.:—

I. The *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* and *.bal·awa-*.
II. The *.bō·jig-yāb-* and *.á·kà-.kôl-* and *.ô·ko-jū·wai-*.
III. The *.á·kà-.ked·e-* and the two tribes of North Andaman.

But it must not be supposed that the similarity between the dialect of any of these groups is so great that a knowledge of one would enable a person to converse intelligibly with members of the other tribes in the same classification, for such is not the case; now, however, that intercommunication is less restricted it is not unusual to find that members of the various communities are sufficiently acquainted with the dialect spoken by their immediate neighbours as to hold intercourse with them.

Little which throws light on their past history can be gathered from the Andamanese or from their traditions, but from a study

[1] I have been told by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* that they can distinguish a *.bal·awa-* from members of the other tribes by his high cheek-bones, and the shape of his skull, which they describe as more dolichocephalic than those of other tribesmen; but as this tribe is now well-nigh extinct, it is impossible to determine the amount of credence which may be placed on this strange statement.

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791 savage tribes,[1] imagine themselves gifted with superior wisdom, and can hardly be blamed if they endeavour to turn their talents to account by imposing a little on the credulity of their neighbours.

101 171 197 619 **Tribal Distribution.**—1. The inhabitants of these islands are divided into at least nine tribes,[2] linguistically distinguished, even if we reckon as one those communities to which I have already alluded under the title of *jărawa-*, among whom it is not improbable further divisions and dialects may eventually be discovered. The conjecture that they are one is merely based on the assertions of the people of South Andaman, and on the circumstance that all the weapons, utensils, huts, &c., of the *jărawa-*, which we have been able to examine, appear to be constructed invariably on the same model, while all such members of the various scattered communities as we have had the opportunity of observing, resemble each other in abstaining from the practice, so general among all the eight Great Andaman tribes, of shaving their heads and tattooing their persons. Still, these outward similarities are manifestly insufficient, affording as they do mere negative evidence, whereas our present knowledge, so tardily acquired, of there being inland communities, called *ē'rem-tâ'ga-*, dwelling in the heart of South and Middle Andaman, who are allied in all respects, save in their mode of life, with the *âryô'to-*, or coast communities of their respective tribes, would seem to justify the belief that hereafter the aborigines of Little Andaman will be found to present not only distinctions of this nature but differences also of dialect, as is the case with the inhabitants of both North and Middle Andaman, which are known to be divided into no less than six tribes.

161 619 2. As to the numerical strength of these several tribes it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty, for, as you are aware, there is no part of the country which is not covered with jungle, more or less impenetrable to any but the aborigines themselves, while their capacity for estimating and expressing numbers is wholly inadequate to assist us in forming any conclusions on the subject. The surmise that the entire group contains about 4,000 souls is based on the calculation that the *.bō'jig-ngī'ji-* tribe with whom we are most intimate do not at the present day exceed 400, though at the time of our advent in 1858, they are believed to have numbered about 1,000.

133 **Topography.**—1. The chief geographical landmarks of these islands are:—

1st. *Saddle Peak*, a massive hill rising to the height of

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilisation," &c., 4th Ed., pp. 250–1.

[2] For the names of the various tribes, and the localities they occupy, the reader is referred to the accompanying map.

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PART II.

Language—Adoption—Relationships—Proper Names—Initiatory Ceremonies—Marriage—Death and Burial—Meeting and Parting, &c.—Fire—Superstitions—Religious Beliefs and Demonology—Mythology.

BEFORE we enter upon the consideration of the marital relations customs, superstitions, traditions, and beliefs of these aborigines, I wish to say a few words in reference to the dialects or languages spoken by the various tribes, more especially the language spoken by the *bō-jig-ngī-ji-*, or South Andaman tribe. As I shall presently show, the people themselves have a legend[1] to account for the linguistical distinctions existing in their midst; but, on a subject of such importance as the origin of an unwritten language, the traditions current among the savages who speak it have rarely, if ever, I believe, been known to throw any light.

Language.—1. A few short lists of Andamanese words have been prepared from time to time, commencing, I think, with Colebrooke, who visited the islands nearly a century ago; but

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 14 and 22.

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the words in their poetic form are so mutilated to suit the metre as to be scarcely recognisable; indeed, it not unfrequently happens that the composer of a new song has to explain its meaning in the ordinary vernacular to his chorus[1] as well as to the audience in general.

7. It may perhaps interest some of my readers to see a comparative table which I have prepared of the various forms of the possessive pronominal adjectives in most frequent use among five of the eight tribes of Great Andaman:

	.bō·jig-ngī·ji-	*.bō·jig-yá·b-*	*.á·kà-kó·l-*	*.ko-jū·wai-*	*.bal·awa-*
my ..	*dī·a-* ..	*tī·ya-* ..	*tī·ya* ..	*tī·ya* ..	*deg·e.*
thy ..	*ngī·a-* .	*ngī·ya-* ..	*ngī·ya* ..	*ngī·ya* ..	*ngeg·e.*
his ..	*ī·a-* ..	*ī·ya-* ..	*ī·ya* ..	*ài·ya* ..	*eg·e.*
our ..	*mē·ta-* ..	*mī·ya-* ..	*mī·ya* ..	*mī·ya* ..	*má·tat.*
your ..	*ē·ta-* ..	*ngàrdī·ra-lī·ya-* ..	*ngàrdī·ra-tē·ya* ..	*ngachá·par-lī·ya* ..	*ngá·tat.*
their ..	*ó·nta-* ..	*nó·ngtá·le-lī·ya-* ..	*ó·ntá·le-eka-tē·ya* ..	*nará·ngòich-lī·ya* ..	*á·tat.*

8. There are in each dialect several other forms of possessive pronominal adjectives, each of which must be used with its own class of nouns, but I do not now purpose entering into particulars regarding these. The form which, roughly speaking, is of general application among the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* is, as I have just shown, that of *dī·a-*, *ngī·a-*, &c. Ex.:—*dī·a kâ·ramà-*, my bow; *mēta yâ·dī-*, our turtle; the exceptions to its use being, (*a*) those nouns denoting human objects, (*b*) those indicating the various parts of the body,[2] and (*c*) certain other nouns denoting degrees of relationship. To be as brief as possible, I will give but one or two examples of each.

(*a*)

dī·a-, my	*mē·tat*, our	Ex.	*dī·a àbū·la-*, my man.
ngī·a-, thy	*ē·tat*, your		*mē·tat at-pail-*, our women.
ī·a-, his	*ó·ntat*, their		
l'ī.a-, ——'s	*l'ó·ntat*, ——s'		

[1] I cannot here enter into particulars regarding their songs and choruses, an account of which will be hereafter given under "Games and Amusements."

[2] For a complete list of these *vide* Appendix G.

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VI.

ad-en, my	*am-et*, our	Ex.:	*ad-en tŏ·bare*,
ang-en, thy	*ang-et*, your		my elder brother.
á-en, his	*á-et*, their		*ang-et tŏ·bare-pail-*,
l'á-en, ——'s	*l'á-et*, ——s'		your elder sisters.

VII.

dōt, my	*mŏ·tot*, our	Ex.:	*dōt chá·tnga-*,
ngōt, thy	*ngŏ·tot*, your		my adopted son.
ōt, his	*ŏ·tot*, their		
l'ōt, ——'s	*l'ŏ·tot*, ——s'		

VIII.

deb, my	*meb·et*, our	Ex:	*deb adew·ire*,
ngeb, thy	*ngeb·et*, your		my step-son.
eb, his	*eb·et*, their		
l'eb, ——'s	*l'eb·et*, ——s'		

9. Lieutenant R. C. Temple, in his Notes on my translation of the Lord's Prayer into *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* quotes some of the remarks made by Dr. Caldwell on the Australian languages, which he considers can with perfect truth be applied to the Andamanese dialects. The grammatical structure exhibits a general agreement with the languages of the Scythian group; in both we find the use of postpositions instead of prepositions; they also agree in the formation of inceptive, causative, and reflective verbs by the addition of certain particles to the root, as well as generally in the agglutinative structure of words and their position in a sentence.

10. In the same work, six sentences in *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* and *.bō·jig-yâ·b-*,[1] such as would occur in daily conversation, are given as examples to illustrate the diversity of speech in two adjacent tribes. Only three out of some thirty words are there

[1] Or, in the language of that district, *.pū·chik-wár-*. Both *yáb-* in South Andaman, and *wár-* in South of Middle Andaman, signify "language." As will shortly be explained under "Mythology," the belief held by all, or the majority of the tribes of Great Andaman, is that the *.bō·jig-yá·b-* is the original language spoken by their remote ancestors, and from which the various other existing dialects have sprung. The word *bō·jig* is used in a special sense to denote "our," or "our style of." Ex.: *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* (the South Andaman tribe's name for itself), literally, *our* friends; *.bō·jig-yá·b-* (their name for the tribe on their northern border), literally, *our* language; *mij·a ngen ká·to bō·jig ká·rama má·nre?* Who gave you that *bō·jig* (*i.e.*, our style of) bow? [As shown in Appendix B, item 1, this term is used to distinguish the description used by the five tribes occupying Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago, from the bows of the *.yē·rewa-* (*i.e.*, the three North Andaman tribes), and the *jär·awa-*.]

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shown to be the same in both languages, while they differ in *every inflection*, from which fact it will readily be understood that, apart from the great difficulties of inter-communication, the task of acquiring a knowledge of the dialects of the remaining eight tribes must be one involving considerable sacrifice of time and labour, such as, I fear, it is hopeless to expect any government officer, unless specially deputed for the work, will be able to accomplish during his term of service.

11. Before concluding this part of my subject I will add an extract from a letter received in August, 1881, from my friend and fellow-worker in this branch of my studies, Lieutenant R. C. Temple (cantonment magistrate at Ambála), which he authorises me to publish as embodying his opinion after a careful study of the vocabularies and other data which I have collected and forwarded to him: "The Andaman languages are one group; they are like (*i.e.*, connected with) no other group; they have no affinities by which we might infer their connection with any other known group. The word-construction (the etymology of the old grammarians) is two-fold, *i.e.*, they have affixes and prefixes to the root of a *grammatical* nature. The general principle of word-construction is agglutination pure and simple. In adding their affixes they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinative tongues; in adding their prefixes they follow the well-defined principles of the South African tongues. Hitherto, as far as I know, the two principles in full play have never been found together in any other language. Languages which are found to follow the one have the other in only a rudimentary form present in them. In Andamanese both are fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other's grammatical functions. The collocation of the words[1] (or 'syntax,' to follow the old nomenclature) is that of the agglutinative languages purely. The presence of the peculiar prefixes does not interfere with this; the only way in which they affect the syntax is to render the frequent use possible of long compounds almost polysynthetic in their nature, or, to put it another way, of long compounds which are sentences in themselves, but the construction of these words is not synthetic but agglutinative, and they are *as words* either compound nouns or verbs taking their place in the sentence, and having the same relation to the other words in it as they would were they to be introduced into a sentence in any other agglutinative language. There are of course many peculiarities of grammar in the Andamanese group, and even in each member of the group, but these are only

[1] For an example of this the reader is referred to "*Wōrī*'s statement," which will be found in Appendix F.

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193 such as are incidental to the grammar of the other languages, and do not affect its general tenor. I consider, therefore, that the Andamanese languages belong to the agglutinative stage of development, and are distinguished from other groups by the presence in full development of the principle of prefixed and affixed grammatical additions to the roots of words."

12. As it is my intention to arrange and publish at an early date the results of my study of the various Andamanese dialects, I will not detain the reader with any further remarks on the subject. I have the less scruple in here dealing cursorily with this important point, as I have been so fortunate as to interest no less an authority than Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., who—after examining my vocabulary, containing probably about 6,000 words,[1] with examples of their use, together with a copious treatise on the grammar prepared by Lieutenant Temple from my notes[2]—incorporated a valuable paper on the South Andamanese language in his annual presidential address, which was delivered before the Philological Society on the 19th May, 1882.[3]

000 **Adoption.**—1. I have already pointed out several instances in which we find, on closer acquaintance with the race, that mistaken views have been entertained, and that both astonishment and merriment were evoked from the aborigines by the narration of certain of the habits and customs attributed to them, especially in connection with their social and marital relations.

2. It is generally admitted that one of the surest tests of a man's character may be found in the treatment women meet with at his hands; judged by this standard these savages are qualified to teach a valuable lesson to many of the fellow-countrymen of those who have hastily set them down as "an anomalous race of the most degraded description."

3. In a previous section I have mentioned that self-respect and modesty characterise their intercourse with one another, and

[1] And yet we find it stated by Figuier that "language is extremely limited among them;" and by Surgeon-Major Hodder that it "consists of a few words, and these sound harsh and explosive, and are principally monosyllables;" but it will be sufficient to refer to Mr. Ellis's interesting digest of the Andaman MSS. above mentioned, and to *Wöl*'s statement (Appendix F), to disprove the assertions of these writers.

[2] I would take this opportunity to express my acknowledgments of the great assistance afforded me by Mr. Temple in my philological researches. The result of his study of my vocabulary and notes on the Andamanese languages during a little over two years, is comprised in a large number of MSS. on the Grammar (above referred to) which, from lack of leisure, he has been compelled reluctantly to return to me for completion.

[3] A reprint of which instructive report is, with the kind permission of the author, appended to this monograph.

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All the papers mentioned above have been placed in my hands for the purpose of drawing up this report, and Mr. Man has also given me much personal instruction and looked over the whole of what I have written to guard against any error of fact or language. I have examined the grammar drawn up with such care and acuteness by Mr. Temple, and the vocabulary of Mr. Man, and I shall endeavour to give an account of the results at which they have arrived.

The following, written by Mr. Temple in July, 1881, on finally returning the MSS. to Mr. Man, sums up his opinion of the nature of the South and other Andaman languages:

"The Andaman languages are one group. They are like, that is, connected with no other group. They have no affinities by which we might infer their connexion with any other known group. The word-construction (the 'etymology' of the old grammarians) is two-fold, that is, they have affixes[1] and prefixes to the root, of a *grammatical* nature. The general principle of word-construction is agglutination pure and simple. In adding their affixes, they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinative tongues. In adding their prefixes, they follow the well-defined principles of the South African tongues. Hitherto, as far as I know, the two principles in full play have never been found together in any other language. Languages which are found to follow the one have the other, in only a rudimentary form present in them. In Andamanese both are fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other's grammatical functions. The collocation of words (or 'syntax' to follow the old nomenclature) is that of the agglutinative languages purely. The presence of the peculiar prefixes does not interfere with this.

[1] Mr. Temple, following the usual unetymological definition given in dictionaries, here uses *affix* in place of *suffix*. In what follows I shall adopt the practice of Prof. S. S. Haldeman in his "Affixes in their origin and application," Philadelphia, 1865, p. 27. "*Affixes* are additions to roots, stems, and words, serving to modify their meaning and use. They are two kinds, *prefixes*, those at the beginning, and *suffixes*, those at the end of the word bases to which they are affixed. Several affixes occur in long words like *in-com-pre-hen-s-ib-il-it-y*, which has three prefixes and five suffixes." Affixes also include *infixes* (or, as Prof. Haldeman calls them, *interfixes*), where the modifying letter or syllable is introduced into the middle of the base, as in the Semitic and other languages.

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Composition of the Words.—The words in the sentences under consideration can thus be broken up into their constituents as follows:—

Using the abbreviations R.=Root: S.=Stem: P. F.=prefix, functional: P. R.=prefix, radical: I.=Infix: S. F.=suffix, functional: S. Q.=suffix, qualitative.

(1) Mami (S.)—ka (S. Q.). So also pugat-ka, boi-ka, emi-ka.
sleeping——was.

(2) Chapa (S.).
fire.

(3) Tap (S.)—nga (S. Q.).
steal——ing.

(4) Omo (S.)—re (S. Q.).
bring——did.

(5) Chapa (S.)—la (S. Q.).
fire—(honorific suff.).

(6) A (S.).
he.

(7) Ik (S.).
tak—(ing).

(8) Chapa (S.)—lik (S. F.).
fire——by.

(9) I' (P. F.) ot (P. R.) pugari (R.)—re (S. Q.).
(referent prefixes)——burn——t.

(10) Jek (S.).
at-once.

(11) Baraij (S.)—len (S. F.).
village——in.

(12) Oko (P. R.)—dal (R.)—re (S. Q.).
—fire——(light)—did.

The Agglutinative Principle.—Words are, therefore, made to fulfil their functions in the Andamanese Languages by an external development effected by affixes, and to express modifications of their original meanings by a similar internal development. Also, the meaning of the sentences is rendered complete by a combination of the meanings of their component words with their position and form.

The sentences analysed further show that the Languages express a complete communication chiefly by the forms of their words, and so these languages are Formative Languages; and because their affixes, as will have been seen above, are attached to roots, stems and words mainly in an unaltered form, the languages are Agglutinative Languages. It will be seen later on, too, as a matter of great philological interest, that the Languages possess premutation (principle of affixing prefixes) and postmutation (principle of affixing suffixes) in almost equal development: intro-mutation (principle of affixing infixes) being merely rudimentary.

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Identity of the Five Languages of the Southern Group of Tribes.—The above observations, being the outcome of the examination of the ten sentences under analysis, are based only on the Bea speech, but in Appendix C will be found a similar analysis of the sentences conveying the Fire Legend in the five South Andaman Languages (Bojigngiji Group), which fully bears out all that has been above said. And from this Appendix is here attached a series of Tables, showing roughly how these Languages agree and differ in the essentials of word-building, premising that they all agree in Syntax, or sentence-building, exactly. An examination of the Tables goes far to show that the Andamanese Languages must belong to one Family.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF ROOTS AND STEMS OF THE SAME MEANING OCCURRING IN THE FIRE LEGEND.

English	Bea	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
		Indicators (nouns).			
camp	baraij	baroij	...	...	pòroich
fire	chapa	chopa	at	at	at

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Predicators (verbs).

English	Bea	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
smite	eni	ema	di, li	...	...
take	ik	ik	ik	...	...
light-a-fire	dal	dal	kadak	kôdak	kôdak
sleep	mami	...	pat	ema	pat
steal	tap	...	...	top	...
bring	omo	omo	lechi	...	...
burn	pugut, pugari	pugura	...	...	...
wake	boi	....	konyi	...	...

Referent Substitutes (pronouns).

he	a	i, ong	ong	a	...
(they)	...	ongot	n'ong	...	n'a

Comparative Table of Affixes occurring in the Fire Legend.

English	Bea	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
		Prefixes, functional, of intimate relation.			
(hi-, it-)-s	I'-	I'-	I'-	I'-, t'-	I'-
(hi-, it-)-s	...	...	k'-	...	k'-
(their-)-s	...	...	n'-	...	n'-
		Prefixes, radical.			
...	ot-	oto-	oto-	...	otam-, ote-
...	...	atak-	...	atak-	...
...	oko-	oko-	oko-	ôkô-, ôko-	oko-
...	...	...	o-	...	ô-
...	...	ar-	...	...	ir-, iram-
...	i-	i-	...	...	...
...	...	ong-	...	on-	...
		Suffixes, functional.			
by	-lik	-te	-ke	...	-lak
in	-len	-a	-in, -an, -en	-in	-en
to	...	...	-len	-lin	-kete
		Suffixes, qualitative.			
was	-ka	-kate, -ia	...	-chike	-ke
-ing	-nga	-nga	-nga	...	...
did	-re	-t, -te	-ye, -an	-t	-an, -chine
(hon. of in.)	-la, -cla	-le	-la	...	-la

Many further proofs of the existence of the Andamanese Languages as a Family, subdivided into three main Groups, will be found later on in considering that great difficulty of the Languages, the use of the prefixes, and it will be sufficient here to further illustrate the differences and agreements between those of the South Andaman Group by a comparison of the roots of the words for the parts of the human body, a set of words which looms preponderatingly before the Andamanese mental vision.

Comparative Table of Roots and Stems denoting Parts of the Human Body.

English	Bea	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
head	cheta	chekta	ta	tô	toi
brains	mun	mun	mine	mine	mine
neck	longota	longato	longe	longe	longe
heart	kuktabana	kuktabana	kapône	poktô	poktoi
hand	kôro	kôre	kûre	korô	kôre
wrist	tango	tango	to	to	to
knuckle	kutur	godla	kutar	kutar	kutar
nail	bodo	bôdo	pute	pute	pute
foot	pag	pog	ta	tok	tok
ankle	togur	tôgar	togar	togar	togar
mouth	bang	boang	pong	pong	pong
chin	ada	koada	teri	t'reye	t'reye
tongue	etal	atal	tatal	tatal	tâtal

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English	Bea	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
jawbone	ekib	toa	ta	tô	teip
lip	pe	pa	pai	paka	paka
shoulder	pôdikma	pôdiatoa	ban	ban	bein
thigh	paicha	poaicho	baichato	boichatokan	baichetôkan
knee	lo	lo	lu	lu	lu
shin	chalta	chalanta	chalta	cholto	chaltô
belly	jodo	jôdo	chute	chute	chute
navel	er	akar	tar	takar	takar
armpit	anwa	ôkar	kôrting	kôrteng	kôrteng
eye	dal	dal	kôdak	kôdag	kôdak
eyebrow	punur	punu	bein	beakaiñ	beakiñ
forehead	mugu	mugu	mike	mike	mike
ear	puku	puku	bo	bôkô	bokô
nose	chôronga	chôronga	kôte	kôte	kôte
cheek	ab	koab	kap	kap	kap
arm	gud	gud	kit	kit	kit
breast	kam	koam	kôme	kôme	kôme
spine	gôrob	kategôrob	kinab	kurup	kurup
leg	chag	chag	chok	chok	chok
buttocks	dama	doamo	tome	tome	tome
arms	tomur	bang	tomur	kôlang	kôlang

Pulled to pieces, Andamanese words of any Group of the Languages seem to be practically the same, but this fact is not apparent in actual speech, when they are given in full with their appropriate affixes, thus—

English	Bea	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
head	otchetada	ôtchekta	otetada	ôtotôlekile	ôtetoiche
knee	abloda	ablo	abluda	alulekile	oluche
forehead	igmuguda	idmugu	irmikeda	remilekile	ermikeche

Any one who has had practice in listening to a foreign and partially understood tongue knows how a small difference in pronunciation, or even in accentuation, will render unintelligible words philologically immediately recognisable on paper.

III. Etymology.

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The Use of the Roots.—As the Andamanese usually build up the full words of their sentences by the simple agglutination of affixes on to roots and stems, the word construction of their language would present no difficulties were it not for one peculiarity, most interesting in itself and easy of general explanation, though difficult in the extreme to discover: *experto crede*.

The Andamanese suffixes perform the ordinary functions of their kind in all agglutinative languages, and the peculiarity of the infixed *l'* occurring in compound words depends on the prefixes. It is the prefixes and their use that demand an extended examination.

Anthropomorphism Colours the whole Linguistic System.—To Andamanese instinct or feeling, words as original meanings, *i.e.*, roots, divide themselves roughly into Five Groups, denoting—

(1) mankind and parts of his body (nouns):
(2) other natural objects (nouns):
(3) ideas relating to objects (adj., verbs):
(4) reference to objects (pronouns):
(5) ideas relating to the ideas about objects (adv., connecting words, Proper Names).

The instinct of the Andamanese next exhibits an intense anthropomorphism, as it leads them to differentiate the words in the First Group, *i.e.*, those relating directly to themselves, from all others, by adding special prefixes through mere agglutination to their roots.

The Use of the Prefixes to the Roots.—These special radical prefixes by, some process of reasoning forgotten by the people and now obscure, but not at all in every case irrecoverable, divide the parts of the human body into Six Classes, thus, without giving a full list of the words in each class:—

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RADICAL PREFIXES IN WORDS DENOTING PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY BY CLASSES.

Class	English	Bea	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
I	Head, Brains, Neck, Heart	ot-	ôt-	ote-	ôto-	ôto-
II	Hand, Wrist, Knuckle, Nail, Foot, Ankle	on-	ong-	ong-	ôn-	ôn-
III	Mouth, Chin, Tongue, Jawbone, Lip	akan- aka- ôkô-	aka- ôkô-	o-	ôkô-	o-
IV	Shoulder, Thigh, Knee, Shin, Belly, Navel, Armpit	ab-	ab-	ab-	a-	o-
V	Eye, Eyebrow, Forehead, Ear, Nose, Cheek, Arm, Breech	i- ik-, ig- i-	id-	ir-	re-	er-
VI	Spine, Leg, Buttock, Arms	ar-	ar-	ar-	ra-	a-

Prefixes to Words referring to the Human Body.—Next, in obedience to their strong anthroponomorphic instinct, the Andamanese extend their prefixes to all words in the other Groups, when in relation to the human body, its parts, attributes and necessities, and thus in practice refer all words, capable of such reference, to themselves by means of prefixes added to their roots. In an Andamanese Language one cannot, as a matter of fact, say "head," "hand," "heart;" one can only say—

my
your
his
(so and so) —'s
(that one) —'s
(this one) —'s } head, hand, heart.

The Prefixes of Intimate Relation.—It is thus that the otherwise extremely difficult secondary functional prefix (always prefixed to the radical prefix, which is usually in Bojigngiji *le-* or *la-*, but practically always used in its curtailed form *l'-*, or *k'-*, *n'-*, *t'-* in certain circumstances) is clearly explainable. It is used to denote intimate relation between two words; and when between two indicators (nouns) it corresponds to the English connector (of), the Persian *izafat* (*-i-*), and so on, and to the suffix denoting the "genitive case" in the inflected languages. The Andamanese also use it to indicate intimate relation between predicator (verb) and complement (object), when it corresponds to the suffix of the "accusative case" in the inflected languages, and indeed to cases generally.

The Prefix System.—Starting with these general principles, the Andamanese have developed a complicated system of prefixes, making their language an intricate and difficult one for a foreigner to clearly apprehend when spoken to, or to speak so as to be readily understood.

As examples of this, let us take the stem *beri-aga* good: then *a-beri-aga*, good (human being); *an-beri-aga* (good hand, *an* pref. of hand), clever; *ig-beri-aga* (good eye, *ig* pref. of

eye), sharp-sighted; *aka-beri-nga* (good mouth or tongue, *aka* pref. of mouth and tongue), clever at (other Andamanese) languages; *ot-beri-nga* (good head and heart, *ot* pref. of both head and heart), virtuous; *un-t'ig-beri-nga* (good hand and eye, *un* pref. of hand, *ig* pref. of eye, joined by *t'* pref. of intimate relation), good all round. 193 197

So, too, with *jabag*, bad: *ab-jabag*, bad (human being); *un-jabag*, stupid; *ig-jabag*, dull-sighted; *aka-jabag*, stupid at (other Andamanese) languages; *ot-jabag*, vicious; *un-t'-ig-jabag*, a duffer.

So again with *lama*, failing: *un-lama* (failing hand or foot), missing to strike; *ig-lama* (failing eye), failing to find; *ot-lama* (failing head), wanting in sense; *aka-lama* (failing tongue), using a wrong word.

Lastly, in the elliptic speech of the Andamanese, the root, when evident, can be left unexpressed, if the prefix is sufficient to express the sense, thus—

i-beri-nga-da! may mean, "his-(face, pref. *i*-)-good-(is)." That is, "he is good-looking!".

d'-aka-chan-ke! may mean "my-(mouth, pref. *aka*)-sore-is." That is, "my mouth is sore!".

Prefixes to Words Relating to Objects.—The system of using radical prefixes to express the relation of ideas to mankind and its body is extended to express the relation of ideas to objects in general. Thus—

ad-beringa, well (*i. e.*, not sick): *ad-jabog*, ill (*i. e.*, not well): *ok-lama* (applied to a weapon), failing to penetrate the object struck through the fault of the striker. So *ig-beringa* means pretty (of things): *aka-beringa*, nice (to taste): all in addition to the senses above given.

This is carried, with more or less obvious reference to origin, throughout the language. Thus—

In Bea: *yop*, pliable, soft. Then a cushion or sponge is *ot-yop*, soft: a cane is *ôto-yop*, pliable: a stick or pencil is *oko-yop*, or *ôko-yop*, pointed: the human body is *ab-yop*, soft: Class II of its parts (hand, wrist, etc.,) are *ong-yop*, soft: fallen trees are *ar-yop*, rotten: an adze is *ig-yop*, blunt.

So again, in Bea: *chôrongo*, tying up, (whence also that which is usually tied up in a bundle, *viz.*, a bundle of plantains, faggots). Then *ôt-chôrongo* is tying up a pig's carcase: *aka-chôrongo*, tying up jack-fruit: *ar-chôrongo*, tying up birds: *ong-chôrongo*, tying up the feet of sucking pigs.

General Sense of Prefixes to Roots.—Possibly the feeling or instinct, which prompts the use of the prefixes correctly, could be caught up by a foreigner, just as the Andamanese roots might be traced by a sufficiently patient etymologist, but it would be very difficult and would require deep study. The Andamanese themselves, however, unerringly apply them without hesitation, even in the case of such novel objects to them as cushions, sponges and pencils; using *ot* in the two former cases, because they are round and globular, and *aka* in the latter, because they are rounded off to an end. In both these cases one can detect an echo of the application of the prefixes to the body: *ot* of head, neck, heart, etc.; *aka* of tongue, chin, etc.

Portman gives somewhat doubtfully the following as the concrete modifying references of such prefixes to the names of things:—

ot-	round things.
ôto-	long, thin, pointed, or wooden things.
aka-, ôko-	hard things.
ar-	upright things.
ig-	weapons, utensils, things manufactured.
ad-	speech (noises) of animals.

With this habit may be compared the use of numeral co-efficients in Burmese and many other languages.

From Portman also may be abstracted, doubtfully again, the following modifying abstract references of some of the radical prefixes:—

ot-, oto-, ôto-	special relation.
ig-, ik-, i-	reference in singular to another person.
iji-	reference in plural to other persons.
eb-, ep-	reference to ideas.
akan-	reference to self.
ar-, ara-	plural reference to persons generally.
ar-, ara-	(also) agency.
ad-	action of self.
ab-	action or condition transferred to another in singular.
aiye-	action transferred to others in plural

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The following preliminary statement of the function of the radical prefixes can, therefore, be made out, viz., to modify the meanings of roots by denoting—

(1) the phenomena of man and parts of his body:
(2) the phenomena of objects:
(3) the relation of ideas to the human body and objects:
(4) reference to self:
(5) reference to other persons:
(6) ideas; *i. e.*, (*a*) actions of self, (*b*) actions transferred to others, (*c*) actions of others (agency):
(7) reference to ideas.

The Use of the "Personal Pronouns."—The habit of the Andamanese of referring everything directly to themselves makes the use of the referent substitutes for their own names (personal pronouns) a prominent feature in their speech. These are in full in the Bojigngiji group as follow:—

THE "PERSONAL PRONOUNS."

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
I	d'ol-la	d'ol	t'u-le	t'u-le	la-t'u-le
thou	ng'ol-la	ng'ol	ng'u-le	ng'a-kile	la-ng'u-le
he, she, it	ol-la	ol	u-le	a-kile	laka-u-le
we	m'olol-chik	m'ŏlo-chit	m-u-le	m'e-kile	la-m'u-le
you	ng'oloi-chik	ng'olo-chit	ng'uwe'l	ng'e'l-kile	la-ng'uwe'l
they	oloi-chik	olo-chit	n'u-le	n'e-kile	kuchla-n'u-le

Limited Pre-inflexion.—In combination with and before the radical prefixes the "personal pronouns" are abbreviated thus in all the languages of the Bojigngiji Group:—

	ABBREVIATED "PRONOMINAL" FORMS.
I, my	d'– in Bea, Balawa. t'– in Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol.
thou, thy	ng'– in all the Group.
he, his, etc.	not expressed in the Group.
we, our	m'– in all the Group.
you, your	ng – in Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab. ng'————'l in Juwai, Kol.
they, their	not expressed in Bea, Balawa. n'– in Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol.
this, that one	k'– in Bea, Balawa, Kol. not expressed in Bojigyab, Juwai.
that one	t'– in all the Group.

In this way it can be shown that there are no real "singular possessives" in Andamanese, as the so-called "possessive pronouns" are merely the abbreviated forms of the "personal pronouns" plus *ia* (*-da*), etc.= belonging to, (property) thus—

"POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS."

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
my, mine	d'ia-da	d'ege	t'iya-da	t'iyes-kile	t'iyi-che
thy, thine	ng'ia-da	ng'ege	ng'iye-da	ng'iyes-kile	ng'iye-dele
his, her, its	ia-da	ege	iye-da	eyes-kile	iye-dele

The "plural possessives" have been brought into line with the expression of plurality by radical prefixes, as will be seen later on.

Now, it is easy enough to express on paper the true nature of the above abbreviations by the use of the apostrophe, but in speech there is no distinction made. Thus, one can write "*d'un-lama-re*, I missed (my) blow," but one must say "*dunlamare*." So one can write "*ng'ot-jabag-da*, you (are a) vicious (brute)," but one must say "*ngotjabagda*." So also one can write :—

er-tan	*d'un-t'ig-jabag-da*	*l'edo-re.*
formerly	I-hand-eye-bad.	exist-did.
achitik	*d'un-t'ig-l'eri nga*	
now	I-hand-eye-good.	

(once I was a duffer, now I am good all round.)

But one must say "*artam duntigjabag ledare, achitik duntigberinga.*" It would therefore be correct to assert that, though Andamanese is an agglutinative

tongue, it possesses a very limited pre-inflexion, *i.e.*, inflexion at the commencement of its words. 193

Limited Correlated Variation (Concord).—The Andamanese also express the intimate relation of the "personal pronouns" with their predicators (verbs) by a rudimentary correlated variation (post-inflexion in the form of concord) of forms:—Thus— 197

mami-ke sleeping-is	mamik-ka sleeping-was	mami-re sleep-did	mami-nga sleep-ing

Then,

do	mami-ke	I am sleeping.
da	mami-ka	I was sleeping.
da	mamire	I slept.
dona	mamingn	I (me) sleeping.

This peculiarity is shown in all the Bojigngiji Group, except Kol; thus—

English	Bea	Balawa	Bejigyab	Juwai
		"In the Present Tense" (ke)		
I	do	do	tuk	te
thou	ngo	ngo	nguk	nge
he, she, it	a	ong	uk	a
we	moicho	môt	môt	me
you	ngoicho	ngôngot	nuk	ngel
they	eda	ôngot	net	a
		"In the Past Tense" (ka and re)		
I	da	do	tong	te
thou	uga	ngo	ngong	nge
he, she, it	a	ong	ong	a
we	meda	mongot	môt	me
you	ngeda	ngongot	ngonget	ngel
they	eda	ongot	net	ne
		"In the Present Participle" (nga)		
I	dona	...	tong	tôn
thou	ngôna	...	ngong	ngôn
he, she, it	oda	...	ong	ôn
we	moda	...	môt	mon
you	ngoda	...	ngowel	ngôwel
they	eda	...	nong	ne

Expression of Plurality by Radical Prefixes.—The examination of the "pronouns" shows that the Andamanese can express things taken together (plural) as well as things taken by themselves (singular). This in their language generally is expressed by changing the forms of the radical prefixes, in Bea and Balawa habitually and in Kol and Juwai occasionally. Thus—

In Bea.

Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
ot-	otot-	ong-, on-	otot-	ig-, ik-, i-	itig-
ab-	at-	ar-, ara-	arat-	aka-	akat-
ôto-	ôtot-	eb-	ebet-	iji-	ijit-, ijet-
ôko-	ôkot-	ad-	ad-	akan-	akan-
en-	et-				

In Balawa.

ôt-	ôtot-	ông-	ôngot-	id-	idit-
ap-	at-	ar-, ara-	arat-	aka-	akat-
ôto-	ôtot-	eb-	ebet-	idi-	idit-
ôko-	ôkot-	ad-	ad-	akan-	akan-
en-	et-				

In Juwai.

ir-	ir-	ab-	at-	iche-	iche-
iram-	iram-	in-	in-		

In Kol.

re-	ri-	a-	o-	eche-	iche-
rem-	rim-	en-	in-		

As has been already noted, the plural of the "personal pronouns" in the "possessive" form has been made to fall into line with the plan of expressing plurality by means of the radical prefixes. Thus—

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TABLE OF SINGULAR AND PLURAL "POSSESSIVE."

	English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
Sing.	my	diada	dege	tiyeda	tiyeakile	tiyiche
Plu.	our	metat	matat	miyeda	miye	miyedele
Sing.	thy	ngiada	ngege	ngiyeda	ngiyeakile	ngiyedele
Plu.	your	ngetat	ngatat	ngiyida	ngiyel	ngiyil
Sing.	his	iada	ege	iyeda	eyeakile	iyedele
Plu.	their	etat	atat	niyeda	niye	niyiche

Qualitative Suffixes.—The suffixes of Andamanese are (radical) qualitative (expressing the class of a word), or functional (expressing its function in the sentence). The radical qualitative suffixes usually employed are—

For Indicators (nouns)

Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
-da	-da, -nga, -ke	-da	-lekile, -kile	-che, la
-la, -ola	-le	-le		-le
-la, -lo	-o, ó-	-o	-ó	-o
-ba				

The first of these is usually dropped in Balawa, and in all the languages also unless the word is used as an integer, or sentence in itself. The second is an honorific and is always added in full. The third is "vocative" and is suffixed to the name called out. The fourth is a negative: thus, abliga-da, a child; abliga-ba, not a child, a boy or girl.

For Explicators (adjectives)

-da
-la
-re -et, -ot, -t

The second is honorific: the third applies to attributes, etc., of human beings. Generally, these affixes follow the rule for those of the indicators (nouns).

For Predicators (verbs)

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
(kill)s	-ke, -kan	-ke, -ken	-ke, -kan	-che, -chine	-ye
was (kill)ing	-ka	-ka, -te, -kate	-ya, -yo	-chike	-ye, -k
(kill)ed	-re	-t, -et	-nga, -nen	-chikan	-an, -wan, -nen
don't (kill)	-kok	-ton	-k	-chik	-k
(kill)ing	-nga	-t, -et, -ta	-nga	...	-in
(kill)s not	-ba, -bo	-ba	-na	...	...
(kill)ed not	-ta	...	...	...	...

The last two suffixes are added to the suffix *-nga* in Bea, thus—

dona	mami-nga-bo	
I	sleep-ing-not	(I am not asleep)
dona	karama	kop-nga-ta
I	bow	cutt-ing-(was)-not (I was not making a bow).

The Functional Suffixes.—The usual functional suffixes in Andamanese are—

TABLE OF SUFFIXES.

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
In, to, at	-len	-len, -a	-an	-an	-an
From	-tek	-te, -le	-e, -te, -le	-e, -lak	-e, -lake, -kate
To, towards	-lat	-lat	-lat	-late	-late
Of	-lia	-lege	-liye	-leye	-liye
For	-leb	-leb	-leb	-lebe	-lebe
After	-lik	-le	-le	-le	-le

The Functional Suffixes are Lost Roots—Attempt at Recovery.—It may be taken as certain that the functional suffixes are roots, now lost to Andamanese recognition, agglutinated to the ends of words by the usual means in their languages, as exhibited in the prefixes; *viz.*, by prefixing to them *l'-*, *t'-*, *k'*—in the manner already explained. The roots of some of the suffixes can be fairly made out thus, from the *Vocabularies*.

(1) *Len, lia, a, en*, "in, to, at," seem to be clearly *l'-*, *k'-*+the root *en, e, ik*,' take, hold, carry, seize."

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(2) *Tek, te, le, e, lak, lake, kate,* "from" seem to be *l'–, t'–, k'–* + the root *ik, i, ek,* "take away." 193

(3) *Lat, late,* "to, towards," seem to be *l'–* + the root *al, ate,* "approach." 197

(4) *Lia, lege, liye, leye,* "of" seem to be *l'–* + the root *ia, eye, ii, eye,* "belonging to."

(5) *Leb, lebe,* "for" seem to be *l'–* + a root not traced.

(6) *Lik, le,* "with, after" seem to be *l'–* + the root *ik, e, ak,* "to go with, follow on."

IV. Phonology.

The Voice of the Andamanese.—The voice of the Andamanese, though occasionally deep and hoarse, is usually pleasant and musical. The mode of speech is gentle and slow, and among the women a shrill voice is used in speaking; but though the tendency is towards a drawled pronunciation, they can express their meaning quickly enough on occasion, too quickly, indeed, for a foreigner to clearly follow the minutiæ of pronunciation without very close attention. The general tone of the voice in speaking is low. 194

On an examination of the prevalent vowels and vowel interchanges and tendencies in the languages of the South Andaman (Bojigngiji) Group of Tribes, as described by Portman, it may be said that they relatively speak thus from a close to an open mouth :—

Juwai	with closed lips.
Bojigyab and Kol	with flattened lips.
Balawa	with open lips.
Bea	with lips tending to open wide.

It is interesting to note that the above results carry one straight from North to South.

History of the Reduction of the Language to Writing.—The Andamanese speech, as it is now studied, was first committed to writing on a system devised by myself, which was an adaptation of the system invented by Sir William Jones in 1794 for the Indian Languages and afterwards adopted, with some practical modifications introduced by Sir W. W. Hunter, by the Government of India as the "Hunterian System." My method of writing Andamanese was subsequently modified for scientific purposes by Mr. A. J. Ellis in 1882, and having so highly trained and competent a guide, one cannot do better than use here a modification of his system, adapted to the needs of a general publication. Portman, unfortunately, has, in his publications, gone his own way, to the great puzzle of students.

In this view, there is no necessity to say anything of the consonants used, and as to the vowels, the following table will sufficiently exhibit them in the Bea Language :—

The Vowels in Bea.

	English	Bea		English	Bea
a	idea, cut	alaba	e	indolent	boigoli
ā	car	bā, yāba	ō	pole	jōb
à	father	dàke	ö	könig (Ger.)	tö
ā	fathom	jārawa	ò	pot	pòlike
e	bed	ēmej	ô	awful	tôgo
ē	fade	akabēada	u	influence	bûkura
ê	pair	êla	û	pool	pûdre
i	lid	igbedigre	ai	bite	daike
ī	police	yīdi	au	house	chopana
...	...	...	àu	haus (Ger.)	chàu
...	...	...	òi	boil	bòigoli

Peculiarities of Speech.—Stress in Andamanese is placed on every long vowel, or on the first syllable of the root or stem. Peculiarities of pronunciation in the South Andaman Languages are as follow :—

Bea.

Sibilants tend to become palatals, *s* to *ch*: *ō* and *ò* are interchangeable: final open *ó* and *é* tend to *o* and *e*: *t* is an indistinct palato-dintal.

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BALAWA.

194 *t* is palato-dental and lisped, *cf.* Irish pronunciation of English *t* and *d*. The *a* vowels tend to be drawn out: *a* to become *o*, and *á* to become *ol*. There is also an incipient *sandhi* in words ending in gutturals: *e.g.*, *rák*, pig; *rág-dóano*, pig's flesh.

BOJIGYAB.

ch is palato-dental and tends to *t*, and the *ch* of Bea tends in Bojigyab to become *s*; *i.e.*, palatals tend to become sibilants.

JUWAI.

Short vowels are not clearly marked: *e* and *a* are interchangeable: final *e* an *é* tend to *i*. Vanishing short vowels are common and are shown thus, *j'rôngop*: *o* is often drawled to *ô*: penultimate *e* is lengthened to *é*, and stressed *é* is drawled to *éa*. There is *sandhi* of final and initial vowels in connected consecutive words. Dental, palatal and cerebral *t* all exist: palatals tend to dentals, *ch* to *t*: *p* tends to soften to *ph* and almost to *f*.

KOL.

ā interchanges with *ō*: *á* tends to *ai*, *cf.* old English pronunciation *gyarden* for *garden*: *e* tends to *é*: final open vowels are uncertain.

V. THE NORTHERN AND OUTER GROUPS.

● 197 **Proofs of the Identity of the Northern and Southern Groups of Languages.**—Of the Five Languages of the Northern (Yerewa) Group, two, Kora and Tabo, are still quite unstudied, the knowledge of the existence of the tribes speaking them being of less than two years' standing, and the language of the Yere Tribe is very little known. Portman has, however, preserved long lists, unfortunately to be treated with much caution, of Kede and Chariar words, together with many sentences, and it will be sufficient here to give a series of roots and stems, showing where the Northern and Southern Languages meet, and how closely related they are by roots: premising that the syntax and word-structure of the Northern Group is identical with that of the Southern Group, and that affixes, notably the radical prefixes, are used precisely in the same way in both Groups. It is in the names for common objects and things that languages show their relationship, and the Bojigngiji and Yerewa Groups form no exception to this rule.

TABLE OF SOME BOJIGNGIJI AND YEREWA ROOTS SHOWING A COMMON ORIGIN.

English	Bea	Bojigyab	Kede	Chariar
pig	reg	re	ra	ra
turtle	tau	tare	tôrô	tôrô
clam	chowai	chowai	chowai	chou
grub	butu	peti	pata	pata
fish	yat	taiye	tajeu	tajeu
bow (N.)	chokio	chokio	chokie	chokwi
bow (S.)	kurama	ko	ku	ku
wooden arrow	tirlech	tolô	tirleich	tirleit
wooden pig a.	peligma	paligma	paligma	paligma
wooden a. head	cham	cham	chôm	chom
harpoon string	betmo	kôri	betmô	luremô
bamboo bucket	gob	bire	kup	kup
shell-dish	chidi	kar	kar	kar
shell-cup	edo	kur	kur	kor
adze	wolu	wole	wo	olo
baby-sling	chip	chepe	chipa	chiba
cord-ornament	ra	ra	ro	iku
leaf-wrapper	kapa	kaba	kôbo	kôbu
red-ochre	kosob	keyep	keip	keip
stone hammer	tailibana	me	mio	meô
stone anvil	rôrop	rarap	rôrop	rôrop
canoe	roko	ro	ro	rua
a. outrigged	charigma	charikma	chorok	chorok

The same community of roots is to be seen in the names of the trees on the islands, establishing beyond doubt the close common origin of the Andaman Tribes of the Yerewa and Bojigngiji Groups, though it will, of course, be

understood that in full form, with prefixes and suffixes, very nearly related words are, in practice, unintelligible to the ear. There are, equally of course, a great number of words, the roots of which, while common to each other in the Yerewa Group, differ entirely from those common to the Bojigngiji Group: thus— 197

TABLE OF VARYING BOJIGNGIJI AND YEREWA ROOTS.

English	Bea	Bojigyab	Kede	Chariar
ornamental net	rab	rap	chirebale	chirbale
jungle-cat	baiyan	beyen	chau	chau
belt, round	bod	bal	tôtô	tôtô
h. flat, broad	rugan	rogan	kuto	kudu
iron fish, arrow	tôlbod	pôt	rautal	rautul
larvæ in comb	tô	to	jota	joto
honey	aja	koi	tumel	tumel
black honey	tubal	tipal	maro	maro
eeckles	ula	tale	bun	bun

It is to be observed that in the above list, the compound stem in Bea for iron-fish-arrow, *tôlbod*, is made up apparently of the roots *pôt* and *tul* in the other languages quoted: while *rautul* seems to have become transferred from the pig, *ra*, to the fish, *tajeu*. A similar transfer has taken place between *tumel*, *timel*, the "black honey" of the North and *tubal*, *tipal*, the "honey" of the South. All of which observations tend to confirm the close connection between the Tribes and the Languages of both Groups.

The Outer Group (Önge-Jarawa) examined.—In turning to the Önge-Jarawa Group, one finds that the hostility of the Jarawas, and the only recent friendliness of the Önges combined with the inaccessibility of the island they inhabit, have caused the knowledge of their language to be but slight. However, we have the careful *Vocabulary* of Colebrooke made in 1790 and those made by Portman just a century later. An examination of these affords sufficient results for the present purpose: *viz.*, proof of the fundamental identity of the language of these people with that of the rest of the Andaman Tribes, and what is, perhaps, quite as interesting, proof that Colebrooke's informant really was a Jarawa.

The Limited Knowledge of it.—A comparison of such of Portman's words as can be compared with Colebrooke's, when shown with roots and affixes separated and reduced to one system of transcription, produces the following results; noting that in their actual lists, both enquirers fell into the natural error of taking the prefixed inflected "personal pronouns" to be essential parts of the words to which they were attached.

A LIST OF ÖNGE-JARAWA WORDS.

English.	Colebrooke's Jarawa	Portman's Önge
arm	pi-li	öni-bi-le
arrow	batoi	bartoi
bamboo	o-ta-li	o-da-le
basket	tere-nge	tô-le
bead	tahi	taiyi (stone)
beat	ingo-taiya (b. a person)	yökwö-be
belt	oto-go-le	are-kwa-ge
bite	m-o-paka-be (b. me)	öni-baga-be (b. a person)
black	chigeu-ge	be
blood	koche-nge	gache-nge
bone	ng-i-to-nge (your b.)	ichin-da-ge
bow	ta-nge (? wood), ta-hi (as shown in ng-i-tahi) (your bow)	aai
breast	ka	ng-a-ga-ge (your b.)
canoe	lak-ke	tate
chin	pi-to-nge (c. bone)	ibi-ta-nge (c. bone)
cold	choma	ugite-be (to be c.)
cough	ingo-talie (? ta-be)	udu-be
drink	m-inggo-be (I d.)	injo-be
ear	kwa-ge	ik-kwa-ge
earth	totanga-ge	tutano-nge
eat	ingo-lolia (? imp.)	öni-lokwale-be
elbow	m-aha-lajebe (my e.)	aha-lageboi

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nglish	Colebrooke's Jarawa	Portman's Ongee
eye	jebe	öni-jeboi
finger	m-ome (my f.)	ome
fire	m-ona (my f.)	tu-ke
fish	ng-a-bohi (your f.)	cho-nge
hair	ot-ti	o-de
hand	ng-oni (your h.) m-oni (my h.)	ome
head	tebe	öni-tolajiboi (man's head)
honey	lo-ke	tanjai
house	bede	bedai
iron (adze-head)	dahi	doii
jump	i-to-le (a j.)	akwa-tokwa-be (to j.)
knee	ingo-le-ke (man's k.)	o-la-ge
laugh	onke-me-be	önge-ma-be
nail	m-o-bejeda-nga (my n.)	m-o-bedu-nge (my n.)
neck	tohi	öni-ngito
net	bato-li	chi-kwe
nose	m-e-li (my n.)	öni-nyuboi
paddle	m-ekal (my p.)	taai
path	echo-li	iche-le
pig	atwi	kwi
pinch	ingi—gini—cha body-pinch-don't (don't pinch me)	öni-gini-be
plantain-tree	chole-li	yolô-le
pot	buchuhi	buchu
pull	toto-be (+tigikwa)	tötö-be (go)
rain	oye	gujö-nge
run	ng-aha-bela-be (you r.)	aha-bela-be
scratch	inga-ben-be	a-kwea-be
sing	goko-be	gögaba-be
sit	ng-ong-tahi (s. you)	önan-tokö
sleep	ng-omo-ka (s. you)	omo-ka-be
sky	madamo	be-nge-nge (flattened out)
sneeze	o-che-ke (a s.)	e-chi-be (to s.)
spitting	inga-hwa-nge	öna-kwa-nge
star	chilo-be (? shines)	chilome-be (moon : ? shines)
stone	wu-le	taiyi
sun	ehe	eke
swim	kwa-be	kwane-be
take up	ng-a-toha (you t. u.)	genge-be
teeth	m-ahoi (my t.)	m-akwe (my t.)
tongue	ta-li	alan-da-nge
walk	bunijwa-be	bujiö-be
water	m-igwe (my w.)	i-nge
weep	wana-be	wana-be
wind	tomjame	totöte
wood (tree)	ta-nge	da-nge

In addition to this list of words offering comparisons, the following from Colebrooke can more or less clearly be made out on the same lines :—

COLEBROOKE'S JARAWA WORDS.

English	Jarawa	English	Jarawa
(white) ant	do-nge	friend	padu
bat	witwi-le	leg	chi-ge
belly	ng-a-poi (your b.)	man	ng-amo-lan (you are a man ?)
bind	to-be, toto-be	mouth	m-ona (my m.)
bird	lohe	seed	kita-nge
bracelet	a-le	smoke	bali-ngi
charcoal	wahi	swallow	hi-be
crow	nahe	thigh	poi
flesh	wuhi	wash (self)	inga-doha-be

Portman is unfortunately always difficult to follow in his linguistic statements, as they are so uncertain. His vocabularies are apt to differ frequently from the statements in his lists of sentences, and where his vocabularies can be compared they are inconstant: but at p. 731, Vol. II, of his *History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, he gives a comparative list of Jarawa and Önge words from his own observations.

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PORTMAN'S ÔNGE-JARAWA WORDS.

English	Jarawa	Ônge
arrow	bartoi	bartoi
axe	doii	doii
bamboo	otale	ôdale
bow	aaii	aai
bucket	uhu	ukui
crab	kagai	kagaia
drink	injowa	injobe
eye	injamma	unijeboi
fire	tuhawe	tuke
foot	monge	muge
hair	enoide	môde
hand	mome	meme
iron	tanhi	doii (iron adze)
leaf	bebe	bebe
nautilus	gaai	gaai
navel	inkwa	onikwale
net	bortai	chikwe
nose	inama	uningaiboi
road	ischele	ichele
run	ahabelabe	akwebelabe
sea	etale	detale (Passage Id, an islet in the sea)
sit down	atôn	unantokobe
sky	baingala	bengonge
sleep	omohan	omokabe
string	etai	ebe
stone	uli	taiyi
tooth	anwai	makwe
water	enule	inge

In some of the above words, where Colebrooke differs from Portman, it will be found that Colebrooke's forms, when reduced to a common transcription, are nearest the Ônge.

Recovery of Colebrooke's Jarawa Vocabulary of 1790.—By pulling the words in the first list to pieces, the identity in race of Colebrooke's native (Jarawa) with Portman's natives (Ônges) will be at once evident. Many roots and affixes are common, and the words are clearly built up precisely as are all other Andamanese words by radical prefixes to roots relating fundamentally to the body and its parts and by qualitative suffixes. In addition to this, the prefixes are joined to the "personal pronouns" by pre-inflexion in the manner peculiar to the Andamanese languages. And although we have nothing more on record of the Jarawa tongue than Colebrooke's list, supplemented by Portman's, of any value, we have thus enough to establish the relation of Jarawa and Ônge as languages of the same Group, and the relation of both as languages of the same Family as the other Andamanese tongues.

In Jarawa the *k* of Ônge tends to interchange with *h*, and by inference the Jarawas appear to use *ogy* for the Ônge *og* and to say *i-ogyo* in place of *ô-oge*.

Leaving the roots to explain themselves, the inflected forms of the "pronouns" show themselves, thus—

ÔNGE-JARAWA "PRONOUNS."

English	Jarawa	Ônge
I, my	m'–	m'–
You, your	ng'–	ng'–

The qualitative suffixes appear to be as follow—

ÔNGE-JARAWA QUALITATIVE SUFFIXES.

for "nouns"	–li, –le	–le
for "verbal nouns"	–nge, –nga, –ge, –ka	–nge, –ng, –ge, –ke
for "verbs"	–be	–be, –me

The radical prefixes are given in a great variety of forms, which will probably disappear on closer knowledge of the languages.

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ÖNGE-JARAWA RADICAL PREFIXES.

Jarawa	Önge
ingo-, ingi-, inga-, enke-, ŭng-, ŏ-	öni-, öna-, ŏnn-, ŏno-, ŏnan-, ina-, ine-, eng-, eni-, ŏnge-
uni-	u-
e-, i-, ŏt-	ŏ-, ŏ-, a-, e-
j-	eje-, ichin-, e-
ji-	ibi-, ebe-
r-	akwa-, akwe-, ako-, ik-, ig-, i-
aha-, a-	aha-, a-
emo-	emo-
eto-	are-
	alan-

Of these, as prefixes relating to mankind and the human body, the following occur :—

öni-, a general prefix of the body and then,

Class I	öni-	head, lip, neck, nose, navel, hip, testicles, stomach.
Class II	ik-, ig-, i-	cheek, ear.
Class III	ibi-	chin.
Class IV	e-	fist, knee, nail, throat.
Class V	alan	teeth.

That the relation between concrete words for the parts of the body and those for ideas belonging to them is shown by the prefixes, comes out neatly in *ik-kwa-ge*, ear : *ik-aibene*, deaf. So, too, the words *ichin-da-nge* and *i-lo-nge* given for "bone" probably refer to a bone of Class II.

Proof of the Identity of Önge-Jarawa with the other Groups.—Among an untutored people, so long isolated even from the other Andamanese, one would hardly look for many roots now in common with them, but the following, which occur in such short lists as those available, sufficiently establish a common origin for the Family.

SOME COMMON ROOTS IN THE ANDAMAN LANGUAGES.

English	Önge-Jarawa	Remaining Languages
bat	witwi	wŏt, wat, wot.
cold	choma	chŏki (Bea).
red ochre	gyalap	bilap, ŭ,la.
net	chi	chi.
moon	che, chi	chiba (Bea, Balawa).
"God"	Ulugu : (*Ulugu*, thunder)	Puluga, Bilak (Bea *wul-uga*, storm).
turtle	chibe	chokbe (Kede, Chariar).
water	i, ig	ina (Bea, Balawa).
bone	to	ta, twa (Bea, Balawa).
wood	ta, da	ta, toa, to.

Colebrooke showed all sorts of impossible things to his Jarawa to name, and one interesting result is the following :—

English	Jarawa	Önge
cotton cloth, paper	pa—nge——be flat—become—is	be—nge——be flat—become—is

Of course, no Jarawa had *ever* seen before anything approaching to either object, and this man's one expression for both means "it is (has been) flattened," which is what the savage meant to convey when asked anything so impossible as to name them.

In Appendix B will be found a further list of Önge words to aid in the study of this interesting language.

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Derivation of Mincopie.—We are now in a position to solve a great puzzle of ethnographists for a century and more: why were the Andamanese called Mincopie by Europeans? What word does this transcription represent? It can now be split up thus—

M-ŏ——nge—be.
I—man-kind-am
(I am an Önge)

Or, as the the Jarawas perhaps pronounce the expression "M-inggo--be" or even "M-injo-be," I am an Inggo (Injo). The name given by the Önges to

fieldwork among the Ongi is the language problem. Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER writes: 114 124

"It should be noted that very little information about the social organization of the Onge has been gathered so far on account of the barrier of language. Not a single interpreter knowing Onge language is available. We came across only two Onge men who knew just a few words of Hindi as a result of their occasional visits to Port Blair".

This was confirmed by Professor CIPRIANI who, in his letter, also mentions the two Ongi who know a little Hindi and adds: "No real Ongi interpreter is, as yet, available". RADCLIFFE-BROWN's experience had been similar. He found only two Ongi men who knew about 20 words of Hindustani.

PORTMAN seems to have been more fortunate in 1886—87. He mentions having had Ongi interpreters. These may have been members of a group of eleven persons who had been captured in the Cinque Islands, between Great and Little Andaman, in 1885 and who had been brought to Port Blair. It would be of great help for anthropological research if a few Ongi could be induced to stay some time in Port Blair and to learn either Hindi or English. In any case, however, an anthropologist wishing to do serious work on Little Andaman will have to remain long enough on the island to acquire sufficient knowledge of the language. He could prepare himself in advance for this task through a thorough study of the available literature on the Great Andaman languages (MAN, PORTMAN, TEMPLE, BASU). Although the languages are different, they are related, and their structure is probably more or less similar. For the Ongi language itself, we have only RADCLIFFE-BROWN's "Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands", the list of Ongi words in PORTMAN's "Manual of the Andamanese Languages" (1887) — which RADCLIFFE-BROWN found "of no service whatever" — and a vocabulary of the Ongi language, compiled by M. C. C. BONIG in 1903 and published in Port Blair. 119 122 197

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Jarawa

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Although the Jarawa inhabit the jungles of South and Middle Andaman, they do not belong to the Great Andaman group of tribes, but are culturally and linguistically related to the Ongi. It is assumed that they originally came from Little Andaman. The Jarawa owe their survival to their having remained isolated as a result of their implacable hostility toward the British (now Indian) colonial settlement. Information on their raids and the punitive expeditions against them will be found in the respective volumes of the Census of India. In 1931 their number was estimated at either 70 (Bonington) or 120 (Hutton). Their culture conforms to the general Andamanese pattern, but differs in various respects from that of their former neighbours, the extinct Great Andaman tribes. Except for their communal huts and such of their material possessions as were found during punitive expeditions, practically nothing is known about it. Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words col-

Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words collected from captive Jarawas by COLEBROOK in 1789—90 and by PORTMAN in the 19th century. 114 648

Research on the Jarawa would by highly desirable, but will be impossible as long as they remain hostile.

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North Sentinel Island

North Sentinel is an island of about 30 square miles west of the southern tip of Great Andaman. It has been briefly visited by Government officers on various occasions, but it seems that no contacts were ever made with the natives, except on December 27th, 1886, when the Ongi, who accompanied PORTMAN on his trip, "caught" some of them (Census of India, 1901, p. 92). From PORTMAN's report it does not become clear whether or not he saw these temporary captives himself. Our knowledge of the culture is restricted to a few observations on their material possessions. The communal huts differ from those of the rest of the Andamanese. The canoes differ from those of both Great and Little Andaman, but are more like those of the latter. The bows resemble those of the Jarawa and Ongi. On the basis of this it is assumed that the natives are related to the Jarawa and Ongi, but PORTMAN's Ongi companions are said to have found that the persons whom they had caught talked "an entirely different language". 101 131 648 197

In 1901 the number of the natives was estimated as 117. This estimate was based on the area of the island and the assumption that the density of the population was approximately the same as that of great Andaman in precolonial times. The figure was not changed in either 1911 or 1921. In 1931 the number was estimated as 50 "on conclusions arrived at from several visits during the last decade and after counting the number of huts found and the sleeping places", but it is said that this does not necessarily mean a decrease in population. "It is believed that the population is stationary, for 161

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

mans. They live in the North Sentinel island and Portman had only made a few observations in the abandoned settlement of these aborigines. In 1886, Portman contacted a few Sentinelese with the help of a few Onges. The affinity of the Sentinelese with the Onges have been detected but the language of the Sentinelese is different from the Onges. However, only later researches can reveal more facts about their lives.

PRESENT DAY DISTRIBUTION OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

The islands, though remained essentially a land of the aborigines, have a present day distribution which is very much discrete in nature. The nature of the distribution was very likely much more widespread in different parts of the islands but the great decline in their number coupled with gradual expansion of the area of the later settlers led to a continued recession of the aborigines in the more desolate areas. Thus there has been a great shrinkage in the territory of the aborigines of the South Andaman where no settlements of any importance had developed.

There are only a few Andamanese (23) who are still now surviving in the Middle and North Andamans and they live in the huts built up by the Forest Department.

The exact areas of inhabitation of the Jarawas are anybody's guess. Though the Jarawas have suffered a considerable decline in their number, no evidences of their distribution beyond the South Andaman are in view. Living under the cold patronage and hostility of the neighbours, the *Aka-beas*, a sub-group of the Andamanese, the Jarawas were always subjected to all their efforts of territorial expansion. Though their exact areas of distribution have not been traced so far, it is probable that they live in the dense forests of the South Andaman, especially in the least disturbed and unhaunted forest areas of the west. However, their biggest concentration is believed to be between Port Constance, Port Meadows and Shaol Bay.

The Sentinelese inhabit the North Sentinel Island and only further exploration in the island can furnish an idea about their exact spots of distribution.

The most predominant in number are the Onges who inhabit the island of Little Andaman. However they make occasional voyages to the Rutland and Cinque Island where some of them live. The areas of distribution of the Onges in Little Andaman are mainly in the coastal areas of the northeast, south and west and also in the interior.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

have always been protected by the sea, which is almost invariably rough, and by a thick tropical forest which extends without a break over more than a thousand square kilometres, unpenetrated by outsiders and almost impenetrable.

THE ARIOTO

The decline of the Andamanese began with the first landing of foreigners on the island and is similar to that of so many other primitive peoples who have come into contact with civilization; a detailed account of their decline would be long and pitiful. In the case of the Andamanese, however, demographic influences arising thousands of years ago must also be taken into account. Cut off by circumstances into small groups and separated at random by large expanses of sea or by the impenetrable forest, they gradually developed somatic and cultural differences of the greatest scientific interest. Among other things, languages became modified to such an extent that members of different groups are unable to understand one another. The Onges, for example, who in my opinion are the nearest relations of the Jarawas, are quite unable to understand their language.

The peoples of Great Andaman were the first to encounter civilization, when from 1858 onwards the Indian Government, then in English hands, decided to institute at Port Blair a penitentiary for the many political prisoners after the famous 1857 mutiny. Subsequently the government sent over convicts serving long or life sentences. The life of the deportees was atrocious during the first few years, owing to malaria and the absence of medical supplies. To the majority, therefore, deportation to the Andamans meant a death sentence. Even today the only large brick building in the Andamans and Nicobars is the penitentiary at Port Blair.

Before the building of the penitentiary the English had made several desultory expeditions to the Andamans, and even before then other foreigners had landed on the archipelago. It is known that Marco Polo, probably passing within sight of the archipelago in 1292, gave it the name of Angaman, and declared the inhabitants to be ferocious cannibals with dogs' heads. As a result, even the Asian pirates were for centuries afraid to land on the islands. The barbarous forays of Arab slave traders later awoke in the islanders

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

comparatively rapid variation and it is now difficult to establish their linguistic connections outside the Andamans, but Africa can certainly be discounted, in view of the general weight of evidence against any Negro ancestry.

Like the Onges the Jarawas are divided into endogamous groups, each with its own name, corresponding to their communal huts, and each with their own territory for the purposes of hunting, fishing and gathering food. There is little reliable information about their daily life or even their numbers; it is, however, certain and I cannot overstress this, that the Jarawas are Negrito in type,[1] with the same admixture as in the Onges.

Whoever or whatever they may be, the replacement of primitive expeditions by genuine attempts at pacification would, quite apart from the obvious humanitarian considerations involved, afford a unique opportunity for detailed study of a dying population in regeneration, and the refusal of an otherwise irrevocable progress towards final extinction.

But the problem of the Jarawas is merely one aspect of the problem of the Andamanese in general, and their connection with the Negritos both past and present. The Semang and the Aetà, as we have seen, resemble each other, and together resemble the Andamanese, in a number of essential points. Recent contacts with other influences in Malacca and the Philippines respectively have produced variations – such as the Semang use of traps and snares with which they take small animals, and also birds, which the Andamanese never touch. They have also taken to making refuges in the trees as a defence against wild animals, non-existent in the Andamans. Traps, poison, agriculture, fish-hooks, animal nets, are all late acquisitions, not found among the original Negritos. It was thought by Brown that spears, used by the Semang, were also unknown among the peoples of the Andamans, but I have myself seen them used by the Onges, though admittedly I saw only a few, and very rough specimens; I did, however, manage to bring some back with me.

In the case of the canoes, the Semang and the Aetà seem to have

[1] On 11 January 1931 a Jarawa was killed at Lekeralarta on Middle Andaman and the head is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. This head shows signs of beard, unlike those of two Jarawas held in the Nicobars since the September 1938 incident. Short, muscularly well-developed, strong and very black, Jarawas are normally beardless, as is usual in Negritos.